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# FARMER LABOR VOICE

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## Stand Firm For the Farmer-Labor Party! North Dakota Lines Up!

By C. E. RUTHENBERG.

The farmers' and workers' organizations of this country have called a convention for May 30th, to nominate a Farmer-Labor Presidential ticket and organize their Party. The Conference for Progressive Political Action has called a convention for July 4th, to take action on the question of endorsing an old party candidate or nominating an Independent ticket.

What is to be the attitude of the farmers and industrial workers towards these two conventions? Which of these conventions can they rely upon to organize their political power and give them the opportunity to fight their own political battles?

### The Conference for Progressive Political Action.

To decide these questions it is necessary to consider the history of both movements. Only on the basis of past action can future decisions be forecast.

The Conference for Progressive Political Action came into existence in February, 1922. It was a response to the pressure of the rank and file of the labor and farmer movements for independent political action. Both the farmers and the industrial workers had learned through their experiences that the old parties are their enemies fighting the battles of their exploiters, and that they themselves must organize their own political power.

But the men who gathered in Chicago in February, 1922, were the leaders of the trade union and farmer movements. They did not have the experience and spirit of the rank and file. They had their own political axes to grind, and in place of organizing a Farmer-Labor Party they merely called another conference for December, 1922,—meanwhile committing themselves to no definite line of action.

### The Cleveland Conference.

When the delegates gathered for the Cleveland Conference for Progressive Political Action, there was great hope in the ranks of the labor and farmer movements that at last a political party of the workers and farmers would become a reality. Representatives of more than 2,000,000 organized industrial workers and farmers gathered in Cleveland. The rank and file of the organizations represented by the delegates who came to Cleveland were for independent political action. The few delegates from central labor bodies and the delegates from local unions, who were barred from seats in the conference, were all for the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party.

The Cleveland conference, however, in place of organizing a political party of workers and farmers, placed itself on record for the old Gompers' policy of "rewarding the friends and punishing the enemies of labor." The resolution to organize a Farmer-Labor Party was voted down by the machine of the reactionary leaders of the trade unions and farmers' organizations, which controlled the Cleveland gathering.

For a second time the Conference for Progressive Political Action betrayed the hopes of the workers and farmers of this country.

### The St. Louis Conference.

The third Conference for Progressive Political Action took place in St. Louis on February 11th and 12th, 1924. The number of delegates attending this conference showed the effect of the previous betrayals at Chicago and Cleveland.

In place of the many labor union intern-

(Continued on page 2.)

(Note: The editor of Farmer-Labor Voice attended the Bismarck convention.)

The statement of D. H. Hamilton, a member of the North Dakota Legislature, to the effect that "The Non-Partisan League of North Dakota has been stolen from the people by a bunch of tin-horn politicians, and has become a smooth-working political machine," indicates the fact that the Non-Partisan League has now become part and parcel of the most reactionary wing of the Republican Party. Hamilton goes on to say:

"I have a farm, heavily mortgaged. The Executive Committee of the Non-Partisan League has not a farmer on it. I am ready to go down the line with the Farmer-Labor Party of North Dakota, because the convention just held of the Non-Partisan League was my last hope. The delegates to that convention denied their own child, the Non-Partisan League Party. I will pledge all there is in me, to help you put over the Farmer-Labor Party in North Dakota."

These statements were made as part of a discussion that took place at the conference, after the convention, which formed the North Dakota Farmer-Labor Party. And it illustrates the feeling of resentment among the old-time Non-Partisan Leaguers, like

### GROWTH OF FARMER-LABOR POLITICAL SENTIMENT.

There is no doubt that the Farmer-Labor political convention which is to be held in St. Paul, on May 30th, will be one of the most highly momentous events in the history of this country. It might safely be predicted that this convention will bring forth a Declaration of Independence, by these farmers and industrial workers, from their thralldom to the dominant political parties of capitalism.

Already the biggest central labor bodies in Minnesota have recorded their endorsement of the St. Paul convention. The South Dakota Farmer-Labor Party has proclaimed its intention to participate. The Washington Farmer-Labor Party has done likewise. In Montana there is a strong Farmer-Labor movement, and this will solidly support the May 30th gathering. The Nebraska Progressive Party is lined up likewise for the convention in Minnesota. In Iowa, in Oklahoma and in North Dakota the same sentiment is strong, and grows ever stronger.

But the central power of the whole drive is in Minnesota, where the farmers and industrial workers have gotten together their forces and have elected two United States Senators, to carry this movement into the halls of Congress.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party is in this fight, from start to finish. And along with it are such independent workers' union organizations as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America—and smaller labor unions, from coast to coast. The St. Paul convention has their endorsement, and their delegates will attend on May 30th.

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By Joseph Manley.

Hamilton, R. H. ("Dad") Walker and those others who fought, when the fighting was hardest, to build up the League which has now been sold out—boots and baggage.

### The League Peters Out.

And this was the general reaction of the broken farmers of North Dakota, where Capitalism is facing its most serious breakdown. The whole financial structure is in a state of complete collapse. The political life of the State reflects this, in the mad scramble for office by those who constitute the present Non-Partisan League. The Bismarck convention of the Non-Partisan League probably marks the end of that organization, as in any way representative of the real interests of North Dakota's working farmers.

Just previous to the convention a wave of resentment spread through the State, owing to the action of the League-controlled Republican State Central Committee, which had, at its meeting in December, endorsed Coolidge for President. This act had the direct effect of destroying almost the last ray of hope for progress in the Bismarck convention. And it was a foregone conclusion that the convention would not be committed to

(Continued on Page 5)

## A Call to Action!

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice:

On February 8, 1924, somewhere between the hour of midnight and 4 o'clock in the morning, there was born the Farmer-Labor Party of North Dakota. It was the child of the North Dakota farmers' and industrial workers' hope for a working class political organization, through which they might express their needs and find a solution for the great problems which now confront them. This proves to be a lusty offspring, and it is clamoring for a hearing.

It is clear that the farmers and industrial workers of North Dakota have decided that there is nothing to be gained for them by supporting either of the old political parties. They have fully awakened from the delusions created by the wily politicians, who would ever build up new promises on the broken promises and hopes of the past.

Farmers and Workers of North Dakota, the eyes of the nation are now upon you! What are you going to do with your new-born political organization? The farmers and workers of other states are organizing, and will soon be calling for affiliation with you, into a powerful national Federated Farmer-Labor Party. And when that time comes, the farmers and workers of North Dakota will be found ready.

Are YOU going to give this movement the support which it deserves, and thus do your part toward making this new Farmer-Labor organization a power in the State? If so, then join with the Party—and bring your neighbor along. The membership fee of \$2.00 includes a year's subscription for Farmer-Labor Voice, official organ of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party.

(Signed) H. R. MARTINSON,  
Secretary-Treasurer Farmer-

was a "Publishing Device of May 1924" and county fairs can

# Stand Firm For the Farmer-Labor Party!

(Continued from Page 1)

tions, the great farmer organizations, and delegates from all the existing organizations favoring independent political action, who had gathered at Cleveland, there were at St. Louis only the representatives of the railroad unions and the Socialist Party, and a scattering of other delegates. Those workers and farmers who really were for independent political action and a Farmer-Labor Party had lost faith in the Conference for Progressive Political Action, and sent no delegates.

The decisions of the St. Louis conference justify the attitude of those who have said that the Conference for Progressive Political Action would never organize the political party of the farmers and industrial workers.

It was a current rumor before the St. Louis conference took place, that it was the intention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action to endorse McAdoo, or the Democratic nominee for President. This plan to tie the workers and farmers to McAdoo was smashed by the Teapot Dome exposures, which spattered McAdoo with the crude oil looted from the Governmental Naval Reserve.

In spite of the exposures in Washington which have shown the utter corruption of both Republican and Democratic office-holders, the Conference for Progressive Political Action still refused to commit itself to independent political action and the organization of a new political party. Its organization committee brought in a report providing for a convention on July 4th, "to take action on the question of Presidential candidates."

Morris Hillquit, leader of the Socialist party, when some of the delegates in the convention interpreted the call for the July 4th convention as committing the Conference to independent political action, repudiated that decision by a statement in the convention, that "This call does not commit us to any course of action. You may say at Cleveland, we will have nothing to do with the old party candidates; or you may say, endorse the candidates of one of the old parties."

Chairman Wm. H. Johnston, president of the Machinists' Union, ruled that the call for the convention was "broad enough for us to endorse or to nominate."

Thus the July 4th convention of this organization is still uncommitted to independent political action. The date is set for after the old party conventions so that the leaders of this conference may take into consideration the nominees made by the Republican and Democratic parties and decide whether they wish to endorse one of the old party candidates.

Thus the way is open for Johnston, Stone, Hillquit, Keating and the other leaders of the Conference, to again say on July 4th what they said in February, 1922; what they said in December, 1922, in Cleveland; and what they said in St. Louis recently: that "the time is not ripe for independent political action." That this is what is likely to happen is shown by the fact that the railroad union representatives attended the McAdoo conference in Chicago after the St. Louis conference and gave him a clean bill of health.

The whole history of the Conference for Progressive Political Action is proof that the industrial workers and farmers can place no faith in it. The men at the head of the organization cannot be depended upon to realize the hopes of the workers and farmers, that in this year's Presidential election they will have candidates on a Farmer-Labor ticket, with a platform that represents the interests of the industrial workers and farmers.

If those organizations which are for a Farmer-Labor party pin their faith on the July 4th convention in Cleveland, it is almost certain that they will find themselves again betrayed and this Conference continuing its policy of supporting candidates of the old party ticket, in place of realizing the nationwide demand of the workers and farmers for independent political action.

### The May 30th Convention.

In contrast to the vacillation, indecision and betrayals of the Conference for Progress-

ventions for May 30th in the Twin Cities, to nominate Farmer-Labor candidates and adopt a platform representing the interests of farmers and industrial workers.

The call for the May 30th convention is the result of a conference of those organizations which have carried on the fight for independent political action. Participating in the call for this convention were the Farmer-Labor Parties of Minnesota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington, The Progressive Party of Idaho, and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party—all of which are committed to independent political action in the interests of the farmers and industrial workers.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party, which is organized on a national scale, was itself the result of the first great effort of the workers and farmers of this country to unite for independent political action.

At the July 3rd convention, last year, in which the Federated Farmer-Labor Party was organized, there was gathered representatives of more than 600,000 organized farmers and industrial workers. The delegates to the Federated Convention were delegates from the rank and file of the labor and farmer movements. They overrode all opposition to the plan for organizing a national party and preparing for the 1924 campaign.

The Federated Farmer-Labor Party has since then made every effort to bring together all the groups in this country that want a Farmer-Labor Party candidate and platform in the 1924 Presidential elections. The May 30th convention call was the result of co-operation between the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and other groups struggling for the same goal.

There is no doubt as to what the May 30th convention will do. There will be no vacillation or hesitations in the May 30th convention. It is committed to independent political action and it will nominate a Farmer-Labor candidate for President and adopt a national platform.

### July 4th or May 30th?

There are groups which believe that by sending delegates committed to independent political action, to the July 4th convention, that the Conference can be swung over to nominate a Farmer-Labor ticket.

This is an illusion. The Conference for Progressive Political Action will be under the absolute control of Johnston, Stone, Keating, Hillquit and the other leaders who have three times refused to go on record for independent political action.

The situation of the Conference and the call for this convention gives the great railroad unions one vote for each 10,000 members. It grants the national political parties only three votes, no matter how many members; and it gives to state political parties only two votes, no matter how many members they have. Under this rule the great railroad unions will absolutely dominate the Cleveland convention, and the decision of the leaders of the railroad unions will be the law of the convention.

To make doubly secure this control by the leaders of the railroad unions, the call for the convention bars representation from local unions. The Conference for Progressive Political Action does not want rank and file representation at this convention. The rank and file are for independent political action, and the leaders of the railroad unions wish to play their own game—which may be the game of endorsing one of the old party candidates.

### On, to May 30th!

With these facts before them, no organization or individual favoring independent political action, can hesitate as to the right road toward realization of their goal—a Farmer-Labor Party. The holding of the May 30th convention makes certain the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party, and nomination of candidates of this party in the Presidential election. Leaving the decision to the Cleveland conference, would place the final decision in the hands of reactionary labor leaders and reactionary leaders of farmer organizations, who have three times betrayed the interests of the rank and file of the farmer and labor movements.

The holding of the May 30th convention and the organization of a Farmer-Labor Party on that date, is the best means of driving forward the Conference for Progressive Political Action. The holding of the May 30th convention and the organization of a

Farmer-Labor Party does not make impossible co-operation between that party and the Conference for Progressive Political Action, if the latter is forced over to endorsement of independent political action. Ways and means of opening the road for co-operation, if the Cleveland convention finally goes on record for independent political action, can easily be found in the May 30th convention.

Workers and Farmers! The way to realization of the goal of a militant Farmer-Labor Party, to fight the corrupt old political parties, is through the May 30th convention.

The way toward organization of the political power of the industrial workers and farmers, is through the May 30th convention. And the slogan of every group and organization committed to independent political action, should be: "On, to the May 30th convention!"

The Teapot Dome exposure of the corrupt government officials, and of the use of government power to loot the nation, is a confirmation of all that the previous experiences of the workers and farmers have shown to be true.

The time for action is now! Let the Conference for Progressive Political Action continue to vacillate and endorse corrupt political party candidates. But the farmers and workers must go forward to real independent political action, through the May 30th convention. They must unite and make the May 30th convention the greatest gathering of industrial workers and farmers in the history of this country. Unite for the great struggle for a Workers' and Farmers' Government!

## Montana F. L. P.

### State Organizer Reports

Farmer-Labor Voice has just received from J. A. McGlynn, State Organizer for the Farmer-Labor Party of Montana, a report of the activities there by that political party since its inception, at the Great Falls convention in October, 1923.

The Executive Committee then elected is enumerated as follows: Chairman, State Senator J. W. Anderson, of Sidney, Mont. (formerly a candidate for United States Senator, on the Republican ticket; Claire Stone, of Plentywood, Mont., Chairman of Montana Non-Partisan League, and member of the State Legislature; William Pilgeram, of Armington, Mont., member of the State Legislature; Ole Sanvik, of Harlem, Mont., former candidate for State Auditor; S. B. Davidson, of Great Falls, Mont., delegate from the Carpenters' Union; Chas. Gildea, of Butte, and of the Federal Labor Union; A. L. Halsig, of Miles City, Secretary of the Trades & Labor Assembly.

In the meeting of this Executive Committee, at Great Falls, on January 10th and 11th, the State Headquarters were established there, and plans and policies were outlined for the forthcoming campaign. And this committee elected as Secretary for the Montana Farmer-Labor Party, P. J. Wallace, attorney, of Great Falls.

Following this meeting, Senator Anderson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, made a two-weeks speaking tour through the State. And commencing on February 1st, Senator Anderson will make another such tour, covering thirty meetings in thirty counties of the State.

This State Farmer-Labor Party will send a delegation to the May 30th convention at St. Paul, as there is a great eagerness among the Montana farmers and industrial workers for a definite course of independent political action.

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## "Land for Its Users!"

By TOM AYRES.

Land for its users. The phrase should be easily understood, for it means, without any qualification, that the people who plow the land, seed the ground, harvest the crops—and make their homes where they do plow, seed and harvest—shall have the first right, and the only right, to the land. This necessarily excludes the big landlord, the mortgage-shark and every other parasite. "Land for Its Users." That idea has started almost every emigration, and has been at the bottom of almost every revolution of consequence in history. The French peasants wanted land. The nobility and the church had the land. The peasants did not start the revolution. That was done by the middle class. The peasants got much of the land as a consequence of the revolution, but not all. Had the revolution fulfilled its mission in this regard, none of the land would have been sold and none of it would have passed into the hands of speculators and been regained by the idle classes. The Russian revolution of our present day has done a much more thorough job. Lenin's famous Land Act, proclaimed on the first day of the revolution, distributed to the working peasants all the land of the big land-owners. The Russian revolution was started—not like the French revolution, by the middle class—but by the working class. The Russian workers understood that they would create the surest basis for their revolution if they expropriated the big parasites—took from them their land, and gave the land to the millions of its users.

### The Land Hunger.

The Madero-Carranza-Oregon revolution in Mexico was a revolt of the land slaves against the plunderers who had feloniously taken possession of the soil, in tracts as large as the State of South Dakota. The Terraz family "owned" a State, twice the size of South Dakota. The present Mexican government has been parceling out these stolen estates to the USERS OF THE LAND, who had been dispossessed by force and trickery. The counter revolution now taking place is being financed by the dispossessed plunderers of the farmers, who seek to re-establish Mexican landlordism.

It was the cry of "land for its users" that sent the poor people of landlord-ridden England, Ireland and Germany to America for new homes. When they got here—some of them in irons as slaves and bearing the brands of their masters—they found that the finest land in America had been parceled out to the "down-and-out" favorites of the King. The land along the coast in the southeastern states and New York was thus doled out. Pennsylvania was largely handled in the same way. British Landlordism promptly transplanted itself to America with the other institutions of the ruling classes of England. The estates of the Astors and other rich families were founded on such practices. America thus made a bad start in furnishing "land for its users." However, there was much land left—a whole continent—which might have been now covered with beautiful homes—and without a mortgage! Our own farm mortgage debt of \$400,000,000, might have been avoided. The interest on this gigantic debt, at 6 per cent, would build forty-eight thousand homes worth \$5,000 each—enough to house a city of 250,000 people each year—if our land ownership system had been wisely and honestly devised and administered. If the "fathers" of our country had been real statesmen—instead of bankers, lawyers, speculators, landlords and grafters, who hid behind closed doors when they made "our" constitution—they would have provided that none of this vast, rich public domain should ever be sold or otherwise disposed of to private corporations or persons; that it should be held as the everlasting heritage of the people, to be leased to the users of the soil at a tax so small that it would have made a permanent home possible for all who desired to live on the land. And, at the same time, this would have yielded a prodigious revenue. But these "fathers of our country" were not made of such material. They came of families of English landlords, bankers, speculators and grafters, and they had the social philosophy of these English ruling classes.

### The Land Grabbers.

The farmers—and by that, I mean those who actually live on the land—

—have been the under-dogs, since history began. History proceeded only to repeat itself here. No sooner had our continent been opened, until the crafty habit of acquiring land for speculation and exploitation won the day in our legislative halls, our courts and civil administration halls. It is going on today—as witness the theft of our oil lands by the Sinclair interests, through the corruption of our late Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Fall. The gentlemen who formed our political institutions were not farmers, nor industrial workers. They had a contempt for and a fear of the workers. They were the ruling classes then, as they are now. They made the rules of the game for themselves. Crying "democracy" they at once established a dictatorship of bankers, slave-holders, lawyers, speculators and grafters, which has been maintained to this day with little variation. They not only fixed the laws in favor of the big land owners, usurers and speculators, but organized the markets and the credits to control the price of the farmers labor.

### The Mortgage.

When the new lands of Ohio and Indiana were invaded by the venturesome farmers of New York and New England, it was because these farmers were disgusted with their jobs. Still they found the same system confronting them; those from whom they bought fixed the price. Those to whom they sold, fixed the price. THE MORTGAGE FOLLOWED. Then they emigrated to newer fields. The same rule prevailed wherever they stopped. Their oppressors were not then organized as they now are, but they were fully conscious of their class advantage, whereas the farmers were not conscious of their unorganized power. The mortgage always followed the covered wagon, and invariably for the same reason. It was always the rebels who went west. They had courage. The weaklings remained in their slavery, and were absorbed in the growing factory industry, changing the form of their slavery, but not materially bettering their conditions of life. The farm rebels kept on going west. They invaded Illinois, Wisconsin, Michigan, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, the Dakotas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Washington; there they stopped and turned back. There is now no new land. It has all been taken up, and MORTGAGED. The mortgage represents, now as always, the wages that the farmer and his family earned but did not get. The game of paying what the other fellow asks and taking what the other fellow offers, is still going on. All the earnings of the farms, above a bare living, have been absorbed by the system and loaned back to the farmers whom the system has robbed. As the land rose in speculative value, the mortgage rose with it. There has never been a time when the farmer could beat the game, because he has always been the victim of the crooked device which made him take what he was offered and give what was demanded of him. There is no escape from this. It is the system working out its logical ends. We must therefore settle down and agree to serfdom, or CHANGE THE SYSTEM.

### The Tax Problem.

The farming industry of this country is mortgaged for more than it is worth. It would take fifteen billion dollars to pay the farm mortgage debts, and if all the possessions of the farmers were to be sold they could not then pay what they owe. Two million farmers left the land in 1922, and a million more in 1923. The Secretary of Agriculture declares that 25 per cent of the farmers are bankrupt. I believe that 75 per cent would be nearer the truth. Ten per cent of the farms in North Dakota have been foreclosed in the last eleven months. South Dakota is in about the same boat. At that rate there will be no owning class in any of the Northwestern states in the next ten years. The farmer who, for the last twenty years, has counted his profits in the increased speculative value of his land, has been disillusioned. This paper profit has been burned up. It will not return—FOR HIM—he will be a renter before another visitation of land speculators. Future rise in prices will be used by the insurance companies and land mortgage companies to exact higher rents from the man who uses the land. A way will be found by these gentlemen to reduce taxes on land and saddle it on consumption, when they have driven the farmers from the land. Until that time the farm "owner" will be rapidly rising land taxes. The day of private ownership of land" as we have

understood it, has gone. It will not return. Small holdings will vanish. Big holdings will increase. The mortgage system and the control of the markets by the interests which own the mortgages will attend to that. Any legislation calculated to assist the farmer will be employed to the advantage of the big land owners, not for the benefit of the people who live on the land.

### Farm Tenantry.

Before the last deflation (Wilson) from which we are now suffering, more than half of the farmers were tenants. Before this tragedy has buried the hopes of its dead and wounded, not more than twenty per cent of those who live on land will own it. The man with a clear farm, who has worked all his life to give his children a landed inheritance, cannot assure them of land. When his estate is settled, his heirs will divide the land. They must improve it. If they mortgage, they are lost when they sign the first note. If they have money with which to improve, the marketing system, organized in the interest of the money lender, will get them. THERE IS NO WAY TO BEAT THE SYSTEM—UNDER THE SYSTEM. Six per cent interest doubles the debt every eleven years and eight months. There is no escape—THE SYSTEM IS RELENTLESS.

The money lenders own the government. They maintain a dictatorship. They will dispense with Congress and make that dictatorship open and scandalous any time their interests appear to require it. The industries are organized. They will continue to fix their toil as they have been doing. The farmer who lives on the land is unorganized. He must continue to be the victim. He will build houses and pay for diamonds and furs, but he will build on Broadway, not on a farm of his own; some plutocrat will occupy the house the farmer has paid for and his wife will wear the diamonds and furs. The picture of the future is clear to me. It is a question of but a few short years till we witness the finish. What then is to be done? A new land system must be adopted. Those who use the land must be the only ones entitled to have land. That is the only means of insuring the food supply. It is the only method of saving civilization from the ravages of the crazy system which is undermining it.

### The Land for Its Workers.

The Farmer-Labor Party stands for "land for its users." As between the life insurance companies and money sharks who are rapidly getting the land through the mortgage system, and the folks who live on and work the land, WE STAND FOR THOSE WHO WORK THE LAND. The mortgage system must be abolished. The politicians who have brought us to this pass must be put out of power, and a farmers and workers government established. Only through a farmers and workers government can the task be accomplished. That is our job. Let us not flinch, nor compromise, nor wait. The time is NOW.

## Describes Russian Farmers

(Oakland "World.")

CHICAGO.—"A loaf of Russian bread is the cheapest in the world, but cookies and cakes are more expensive than on Broadway, New York," is William H. Green's description of Russia. Green, who is a farmer from Nebraska, stopped off in Chicago on his way home from the International Farmers' Conference in the Kremlin in Moscow. As a vice chairman of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party Green was a delegate to the conference.

"The situation in Russia compared to that in the United States may be stated this way," said Green: "In Russia, the farmers were given the land for nothing; in the United States the land is being taken away from the farmers."

Green says he has big things to tell the farmers of the middle western states about the farmers of Russia; the story, for instance, of 10,000 acres of land in the Ukraine as level as a baseball diamond; rains in the spring and rains in the fall, with no rain at harvest time; and four miles from deep water transportation, so that grain can be delivered at Liverpool just as cheaply as the western farmer can deliver it at Minneapolis, 1,800 miles from tide-water.

One feature of the great agricultural exposition at Moscow that impressed him was the fact that there wasn't a gambling device of any kind in evidence, whereas in this country state and county fairs can be seen, Box 462, Fargo, N. Dak.

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JOSEPH MANLEY, Editor  
Associate Editors:  
TOM AYRES, South Dakota  
ALFRED KNUTSON, North Dakota  
JOHN C. KENNEDY, Washington  
W. H. GREEN, Nebraska

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## Hoist by Their Own Petard

The Washington Teapot has bubbled over, and the Cabinet career of Secretary of the Navy Denby is ended. At the White House it is stated that Denby's "resignation" probably will go into effect on March 10th. To smooth the ruffled feathers of the Navy's deposed Secretary, President Coolidge has written him: "You will go, with the knowledge that your honesty and integrity have not been impugned!"

Which will be quite as ineffective a whitewashing as Senator Walsh's attempted rehabilitation of McAdoo, when he says: "I am committed to the candidacy of William G. McAdoo. I should regard any effort to place another progressive candidate in the field as serving the interests of the Republican Party."

In dubious corroboration of both these statements comes the declaration of Benjamin Marsh, national representative of the Farmers' Council, to the effect that the farmers are quite disillusioned with regard to both of the old parties, and that they are determined to organize a Farmer-Labor Party to contest the coming Presidential election.

The whole proceeding was simply a political mud-slinging contest, in which both sides had plenty of mud to sling—and both sides made it stick.

The Democratic "outs" wanted to get in. Their past record was so rotten that they felt there was little chance for staging a "come-back." And so, in desperation, they "started something." This was against the rules of the political game, and the finish is likely to be worse than the beginning, for both the old parties. Because the "ins" wanted to stay in. And, equally desperate, they proceeded to likewise break the rules of the game.

"When thieves fall out, honest men get their dues," is a popularly accepted adage. But it remains to be seen who, if anybody, will receive benefit from the present rankly odorous political situation in the national capital. "The Ides of March" are at hand, and it is up to the great majority of the American people—the farmers and industrial workers—to decide whether they are content to have in governmental power either of the political parties whose nefarious connection with "Big Business" has now been so thoroughly exposed.

Both branches of Congress have "resolved" that the Government Oil Land leases to the Sinclair and Doheny interests "were executed under conditions indicating fraud and corruption." The House has gone farther, and asserts that "The leases and contracts were entered into without authority on the part of the officers purporting to act for the United States, and in violation of the laws of Congress." And both Senate and House agree, in a joint resolution, that these leases "were made in defiance of the settled policy of the government," and that they are "against the public interest."

The Democrats were having a lovely time of it and the Republicans were frying in oil—until Mr. Doheny was recalled to the witness-stand, late in January. From this unwilling witness, information was then brought forth showing that William Gibbs McAdoo—then the "one best bet" for the Democratic Presidential nomination—was at that moment receiving a retainer of \$50,000 a year from the Doheny oil interests, and had been receiving this sum annually for a number of years past. Incidentally, it was also shown that Thomas W. Gregory for-

cratic Cabinet, had likewise been employed by the Doheny and other big oil interests.

The immediate results of these disclosures were the cancellation of ex-Attorney General Gregory's appointment as one of the special counsel to investigate the oil frauds in which he himself was thus shown to be involved—and a quite effective cracking of the McAdoo Presidential boom.

Ordinarily, this political mess would have resulted simply in the improvement of the chances of some other "Presidential timber"—such as Hiram Johnson, for instance—whose record might not, as yet, be so thoroughly disclosed to the public eye. The unpardonable sin, in politics—both Republican and Democratic—is not the mere fact of rank crookedness, but the indiscretion of being "caught with the goods." Everything else goes, under the dark mantle of political purity. But, as the comic supplement humorist aptly puts it, "Them days is gone, forever!"

The coming Farmer-Labor Party convention which will be held in St. Paul on May 30th, will have something to say in this connection. And the delegates to that convention will formulate and present to the farmers and industrial workers of this country a program that will render unnecessary any further dependence upon such a choice selection of political leadership.

## Our Lily-White Legislators

In the national capital there exists what is known as "The Washington Golf Club," a very exclusive social (but not at all Socialist) organization, of which Senators and Members of Congress make up the membership. The initiation fee of this alleged "social club" is \$1,000—and the game of "golf" indulged in there is played not with the usual clubs and balls of the golf green, but with the destinies of the American people. This is the oldest "social club" in Washington—and it is an integral part of the capitalist system. It is there that all the "inside work" in the little game of fooling the people, is carried on. So that membership in this organization is well worth the \$1,000 fee.

Also there is in legislative circles a very strict rule that upon the floor of the Senate and in the halls of Congress no member shall "question the motives of any other member." It is recorded that President Coolidge—then acting as President of the Senate—under this rule gravely called to order a certain Senator, not because of what he was saying about a certain other Senator but "because of the expression on your face" (as Coolidge naively put it). The guilty conscience, which needs no accuser, must be given protection in the legislative halls of this country. Because the guilt there is so universal that it is mighty bad policy for anybody to "start something." When this rule is broken, things begin to happen—like the Teapot Dome spill, for instance.

## A Pool of Bunk

The capitalist press now vociferates that bankers and businessmen of the East and Middle West have "joined hands in pledging a fund of Ten Million Dollars," which will be used "for immediate relief of the troubled banking and agricultural situation in the Northwestern States." And that government aid, to the extent of some additional millions, is assured through the War Finance Corporation.

This bunk pooling committee claims that "A total of One Hundred Million Dollars will be available for relief work." And to prove that the make-up and intentions of the committee are quite all right, it is stated that the chairman of the Board of Directors is C. T. Jaffray, President of the "Soo Line" Railroad.

Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover (of food-conservation fame) lent his august presence to the committee meeting, and told the world that:

"We must view this problem from the standpoint of the farmers, and not as bankers. The time has passed for sheer ruthlessness of economic law to rule—for the business structure of the nation is involved. We can have no permanent prosperity until agriculture has fully recovered and is est-

on a firm economic basis. Agriculture needs not only money, but help and advice. There are three times too many banks in the territory involved. But fundamentally the re-estabishment of the farmer."

You said it, Herbert! And we believe that "agriculture" is going to receive some "help and advice," in the very near future—but not from the Bunk Committee.

## "This Is Writ Sarcastic"

Wheat is raised by a lot of dirt farmers, each working on his own. Coal is produced by great corporations, managed by highly efficient captains of industry. The solution is very simply. Turn the coal industry over to the farmers. Put the coal operators in charge of the wheat farms. In less than a year there will be a great surplus of coal and prices will drop 50 per cent; wheat supply will be less than demand, and the price will go up to \$2 per bushel.

## Another "Lame-Duck"

PIERRE, S. D.—(Special correspondence.)—Another "lame-duck" banker farmer has come into his reward. The appointment of W. S. Hill to a position on the Shipping Board, presumably because the Oil Administration wants "to recognize the farmers" of the rebellious Northwest, is in keeping with the policy of the capitalistic regime now at Washington. W. S. Hill was a banker in the town of Alexandria, South Dakota. He also indulged in farming and fine stock breeding. At a later period he was the owner of a seed-house in Mitchell, and made his home in that city.

Mr. Hill always did his farming by proxy—like other banker-farmers. For several years he was president of the South Dakota Farm Bureau Federation, serving well the interests of the exploiters who organized the Farm Bureau. In his position as an official of the Farm Bureau, Mr. Hill was ever servicable to the Republican political machine and to the people who finance that organization. Mr. Hill was also a member of the Board which manages the State Fair Association, and in that position likewise he has been a true confidant to the capitalist system.

Not long before he was made a member of the Shipping Board one of Mr. Hill's banks, the Western National Bank of Mitchell, closed its doors on order of the Board of Directors. And since that time, its assets have been taken over by two other banks in that city.

Mr. Hill was a potential candidate for governor, on the Republican ticket—and it seems that he had to be taken care of. He had earned consideration from the political machine, and from the grain gamblers and packers, during his administration of the Farm Bureau in this State. He won his reward for fidelity to those interests.

Mr. Hill, the "lame-duck" banker, may be depended upon to serve the same interests as a member of the Shipping Board.

## God Bless Our Printer!

It seems that our printer was in a hurry (wonder of wonders!) when finishing up the forms for February 1st issue of Farmer-Labor Voice. So he spilled a few lines, here and there, "in the speed of his desire" to get home for pork and beans.

As a result, a continuation from first page article was carried over to wrong column. And a line was dropped into another column "upside down."

We would forgive him all these things—and more—if he had done no worse than this. But he dropped and lost entirely, it seems, a couple of lines from the Lenin memorial on editorial page. Because the writer of this editorial insists he did not say that Lenin's life "gave economic freedom to all the workers of the world"; but that he said instead, "whose life gave economic freedom to a nation's workers, and left a glowing promise of that freedom to all the workers of the world."

And the printer also forgot, in his bean-ward rush, to give proper credit to our good friend Tom Ayres, for the article on "Sheep Dope, the New Hope Dope." He also forgot a lot of other things. **Town: \_\_\_\_\_ did not forget his beans!**

## North Dakota Lines Up!

any of the remedial measures that are so much needed by the farmers of the State.

There were 97 delegates in the Bismarck Convention—only four of them representing Labor. And the delegates were principally small bankers, business men, office-holders and office-seekers—with real farmer representation in a very small minority. It was plain to be seen, at the opening of the convention, that no real progress was to be made there.

### Important Questions Side-Stepped.

The three matters of principal interest in the convention were the requests coming from Congressman Sinclair and Senator Frazier, and others, asking that the convention endorse LaFollette for President; the question of whether the League would accept the legal status given to it by the State's Attorney's ruling, that the Non-Partisan League had become the Non-Partisan League party; and the question whether the convention would or would not protest the action of the Republican State Central Committee in its endorsement of Coolidge for President.

In the midst of the struggle for endorsement of various favorite candidates for office, these matters had little chance for serious consideration. Hours were spent in ceaseless wrangling over minor technicalities. So that when delegate J. W. Hempel read the request from Congressman Sinclair and Senator Frazier, asking for endorsement of Robert M. LaFollette, this matter got little consideration, and the question was side-stepped by a motion that the convention should not take any position with regard to Presidential candidates. The Republican political machine in control of the convention carried this motion, with few dissenting votes: The same machine refused to accept the right to nominate candidates under the head of the Non-Partisan League Party. The few farmers' representatives present protested the endorsement of Coolidge by the State Central Committee—but no official action was taken by the convention.

### Fedje Bill Forced Across.

The matter of the Fedje bill came before the convention—and this gave the old-line politicians several hours of anxiety. When enacted into law, this bill will provide for allowance to farmers, their wives and their children over 16 years of age, a lien upon the crop raised by them, to secure wages for their services in the production of it.

The Fedje bill has aroused great interest amongst the poorer farmers of North Dakota. And this is an indication of the fact that the so-called "owning farmer" is beginning to become conscious of the fact that his social status is no different from that of the other farm workers. And he believes that through this measure he may to some extent obtain relief from his present extremely critical situation. This feeling is steadily growing, and is bound to bring results of value.

As an instance of the machine work of the convention, it may be stated that immediately following the endorsement of L. G. Sorley, of Grand Forks—the League's candidate for Governor—photographs of that gentleman, and statements of his qualifications for the office, were distributed throughout the convention.

### Ayres Advocates Basic Policies.

The one illuminating feature in the convention was the address made by Tom Ayres, senatorial candidate of the South Dakota Farmer-Labor Party. Ayres pointed out that the troubles existing in North Dakota are also existent in every other State, and in every country in the world, under the rule of the capitalist system. That the single exception is Russia—"which had the good sense to throw off that system." He stated that the American farmers cannot possibly pay their debts. That when the insurance and mortgage companies take the land, there is only one thing for the workers to do—and that is to re-take it, for the users of the land. That the country would be in better condition today if the Government "had never sold, or allowed to be stolen, one acre of land west of the Alleghanies." Ayres advocated the five-year moratorium on farm debts. And he urged that the people own the railroads—"taking them first, and finding out afterwards what we will pay for them."

Ayres also told of the formation of State Farmer-Labor Parties in South Dakota, in Montana, Washington, etc. And he pointed out that non-partisan political action is now entirely out of date as a policy. He strongly advocated that North Dakota should inaugurate a State Farmer-Labor Party, and join with all those others mentioned, at the coming May 30th convention, to form a great national organization of the farmers and industrial workers.

### Delegates Roused to Action.

Petitions were circulated in the convention, asking that "All those who desire to form a State Farmer-Labor Party NOW," should meet in a conference following the convention. There were many signers of these petitions. In a speech to the convention, R. H. Walker invited to this conference all those who were willing to accept the program outlined by Ayres.

The convention of the North Dakota Non-Partisan League closed with the endorsement of various professional and would-be professional politicians. And immediately following its adjournment, a conference was held that was attended by more than forty delegates—many of them representing the very heart of the old militant Non-Partisan League.

In an all-night session, this conference organized the Farmer-Labor Party of North Dakota, and adopted for it a Constitution and Program. A distinctly favorable contrast was to be noted in this conference between its illuminating discussions and the useless wrangling which had taken place in the convention. The discussions in the conference were on fundamental problems, such as "Land for its users"; the "Five-year moratorium on farm-mortgage debts," etc. It was a revelation to note the ease with which many of the farmer delegates handled some of the most complicated problems of modern finance.

### Executive Committee Elected.

The officers elected by this conference were as follows:

R. H. Walker, Chairman, who is one of the best known real farmers in North Dakota and was formerly an organizer for the Non-Partisan League; H. R. Martinson, Secretary-Treasurer, who is president of the Central Labor Union at Fargo, and is well known throughout the state.

An Executive Committeeman from each of the three Congressional Districts was also elected, as follows:

First District: Alfred Knutson, formerly of the Non-Partisan League.

Second District: Herman Hardt, well known as a member of the State Legislature and as the popular representative of more than 20,000 Russian-German farmers in that district.

Third District: H. B. French, editor of an influential farmers' newspaper in the state.

### Resolutions and Program.

Among the resolutions passed by the convention was one calling upon LaFollette to get out of the Republican Party, and help lead the rising Farmer-Labor movement; another endorsing the United Front campaign of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party; also one approving the May 30th convention to be held in St. Paul and protesting against any attempt toward its postponement.

The need for a state program became apparent during the discussion when the fact was brought out that the old Non-Partisan League program, most of which had been incorporated into the laws of the state, had never been permitted to really function, to any extent; and that this fact was due to the sabotage of old-line party politicians. The state program adopted in this conference goes much farther than anything ever proposed by the old League. It reads as follows:

#### State Program.

1. We demand the retention and faithful administration of the state industries, especially the building of terminal elevators and flour mills.
2. We demand that all public funds be deposited in the Bank of North Dakota, and that branch banks be established, one in each county of the state.
3. We favor the enactment of the farm-crop lien law, known as the Fedje Bill No. 164.
4. We demand that all tax titles revert to the state.
5. We demand the re-enactment of the tax exemption law repealed by the 1923 Legislature.

## Farmers' Union is for Farmer Labor Unity

(Editor's Note: The following parts of a speech by C. H. Hyde, vice president of the Farmers' Union, strongly indicates why the organized farmers and organized labor forces should work together. The speech was delivered in the Farmer-Labor Economic Conference, held recently in Oklahoma City. It is of special interest right now, in view of the present Oklahoma political and economic situation.)

"The farmer's problems are as much the laboring man's problems as they are his own. True, the farmer wants and must have labor fully employed at such a wage that he can afford to buy good food. Labor is the greatest consumer of the farmer's products.

"In like manner, and it is just as important that a farmer should have a wage (the price of his products is his wage) that will allow him to buy the output of labor.

"Yes, there is more than that, for if the farmer's price of his products is too low, many of them (especially the younger ones) will leave the farm and enter the ranks of labor.

"Labor has a very laudable plea that union labor shall require the union label on all garments that they buy.

"If that plea is good (and I think it is), should they not go further and ask that the cotton or wool should be grown by organized farmers?"

"Does the bread that is made in a union bakery by union bakers, make it union bread when the farmer that raised the wheat is selling it at a loss and cheaper than the peasants in Europe can raise it?"

"Does the pork that the farmer sold for five cents a pound become good if it is sold by a union butcher, when the farmer lost at least four cents per pound?"

"Now, these are some of the things that we must work out.

"The farmers want help. They must have help. They had rather work with labor than any other group."

(Editor's Note: The balance of Mr. Hyde's address consisted of suggestions for a State and National program. And he closed with a plea that the convention should consider issues rather than individuals, and labor policies rather than partisan politics. State and national programs were later formulated, and will be submitted to the coming Farmer-Labor convention.)

### THE WESTERN PROGRESSIVE FARMER

is a wide-awake journal of interest to the farmers everywhere. It is published on the 20th of each month, at Sedro-Woolley, Washington. Subscription price: \$1.00 per year.

### Summarization.

The whole situation in North Dakota can be summarized by citing, first the action of the Republican State Central Committee—controlled by the Non-Partisan League—endorsing Coolidge for President, at its meeting last December; the action of this League convention in side-stepping a motion to rescind that action; and its point-blank refusal to endorse LaFollette.

On the day following adjournment of the convention the State Central Committee met and practically reaffirmed their endorsement of Coolidge, by refusing to entertain any motion on the subject.

All of which proves that the Non-Partisan League holds out absolutely no hope for the farmers of North Dakota and the adoption by this conference of the entire program of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party indicates the growing militancy of the broker farmers. The newly organized Farmer-Labor Party of South Dakota is already in the field with an organizer. Its immediate program is to build up the organization in every county in the State, and to encourage the sending of a large delegation to the May 30th convention, where its efforts will be joined with those of the other Northwestern States that have already organized Farmer-Labor Parties. And thus all will become a part of the great national Farmer-Labor movement.

Communications of any sort for the Farmer-Labor Party of North Dakota should be addressed to the Secretary-Treasurer, H. R. Martinson, Box 462, Fargo, N. Dak.

## Democratic Farmers, Beware!

By William H. Green.

Now that the Republican ship of state is adrift among the shoals, special pleaders for the Democratic machine will be everywhere in evidence.

As an executive officer of the American Anti-Trust League, the writer was an eyewitness at many of the exposures and investigations which took place during the latter days of the Taft administration. Also the "Ballinger" stench, the Geo. W. Perkins "Insurance scandal," the Stanley "steel investigation," the "harvester," "the shoe machinery," the "United Fruit," and the "Cash Register trust" investigations—as well as the telephone and railroad exposures.

As in the present oil-lease exposures, the Republicans were then caught "with the goods on them." Senators Robinson of Arkansas and Walsh of Montana, who are today among the loudest in shouting for drastic measures in the Teapot Dome scandal, were at that time in the same frame of mind regarding prosecutions for malfeasance in office. And we particularly wish to call our readers to the record of those same senators during the democratic administration.

Governor Wilson of New Jersey came to Washington during the time that those exposures were falling open, thick and fast, and he justified the radicals who were forcing those exposures, when he said before a group of laborers at the Raleigh Hotel: "Drive the knife down to the seat of life and cut away all dead tissue."

Well, you know we then elected the democrats. And what did you get? The writer, provincial that he was, voted for Wilson 43 times, at Baltimore. While we were casting those 43 votes—and paying our own expenses—Woodrow Wilson was being sweated by the plunderbund. When he had "coughed up his guts," and had surrendered every prerogative connected with the Presidency, he was nominated. And one of his first acts was to put a price on the head of practically every one of those who had forced the exposures which had split the Republican party and made Wilson's election possible.

Senators Walsh, Robinson and Pomerene, Democrats, then simply changed places with Senators Penrose, Smoot and Root, Republicans. And the plunderbund band wagon never even hesitated, while the drivers were being changed. There is nothing to be hoped for from those Tory representatives of the special privilege interests.

The trust suits and investigations were all squelched, or postponed so many times that the statute of limitations ran against them, in effect, if not in fact. The fee title to the telephone monopoly was quieted in favor of the Morgan holdings. In fact all of the work done by agitators and investigators during the latter part of the Taft administration was chloroformed at Wilson's orders.

When the republicans came back into power—then you read of the Democratic crooks who had robbed the government in every conceivable way. The war was had produced a harvest for those ghouls. And while others were "patriotically" sacrificing for the war, those criminals were enriching themselves beyond the dreams of avarice."

You also heard about the special "attorneys" who were hired, at fabulous salaries, to prosecute those Democrats. But you have not heard of any of them ever going to jail, have you?

The two old political parties are so closely allied to the national grafting system that the plunderbund does not care which of them you elect. Even if a good clean representative or senator goes to Washington, under the name of either the Republican or the Democratic Party, he must be "regular," or he will have the entire power and all the wrath of both political machines heaped upon him.

If your representative goes as an independent—or, very much better, as a Farmer-Labor representative—he is not obliged to attend the party caucus, and consequently he is a free agent.

Many men do not like to "waste" their ballot in voting a national ticket. The wisest political speculator of the present day do not feel sure that you are going to waste your ballot. There is a live possibility of the Farmer-Labor vote for President will suf-

ficient to throw the election into the House of Representatives—thereby giving that party the balance of power, not on a horse-trading basis, like that which obtains at present, but upon a bona fide statement of principles.

Vote for the Farmer-Labor candidates. A vote for either the Republican or the Democratic candidates would be indeed a wasted vote.

## "Help," That Won't Help

By ALFRED KNUTSON.

Coolidge is looking for votes in the Northwest. And in order to get the good will of the farmers, he is trying his hand at remedying the banking situation in this section. He proposes as a cure, the funding of farmers' past due indebtedness, and loans by government (?) agencies to the farmers—loans which invariably find their way to the banks first, coming to the farmer only upon the assurance that "valid" security is given for the money loaned.

This funding of debts will simply mean the prolongation of the existing chaos in agriculture and result only in a more complete exploitation of the farmer—who is already so deep in debt that he cannot secure relief except thru a fundamental readjustment of the whole field of agricultural finance.

### Loans Unattainable.

The president says, among other things, in his special message to congress, that "government agencies cannot properly make loans upon insecure collateral, or to banking institutions whose capital is impaired." Which means that the bankrupt farmer—the one who really needs immediate and substantial assistance and whose condition is the cause of the many bank failures—cannot receive any of the proffered aid, for the reason that he has now absolutely no collateral or security to give. He is already mortgaged way beyond the limit allowed by the banks, on both real estate and chattels. And today over one half the farmers in the Northwest are in this condition!

Coolidge and the bankers want to help the farmer without giving up any of their prerogatives as exploiters of the food producer; which, of course, is impossible. It is decidedly lucky for the farmers that these fellows have played all the trump cards the capitalist system falls heir to. A new deal is inevitable. The capitalists having overreached themselves, the mortgage system is ceasing to function. It will die, never to rise again.

### The Cost-Plus Slogan.

It is frequently urged that what the farmer really needs is a better price for his products. "Cost of production plus a reasonable profit" is the slogan used by some "farmers'" organizations that want to "help" the farmer. It is argued that if the farmer is well paid for his wheat, flax, cattle, poultry, etc., he will be able to take care of his obligations to the banks, and secure something for himself and his family. This sounds well enough theoretically but the problem is not so easily solved in practice.

In the first place, the bankers must have the farmers in debt, in order that their banking business may flourish. Without the farmers' debts, the banks cannot exist; that is the very life of their trade. Consequently they are much interested in maintaining a condition that will make it difficult for the farmers to pay what they owe.

Secondly, the food gamblers, together with the railroads, are masters of the machinery of distribution of farm products; and these interests always use their power to squeeze out of the farmer all the profits they can.

Third, the cards are stacked against the food producer from the start. And if he appeals to the government for aid, he discovers that its machinery, too, is controlled by bankers, food gamblers and railroads. Under these circumstances, what chance has the farmer of ever getting cost of production plus a reasonable profit?

### The Way Out.

In order to get out of this dilemma, the farmer must combine with the city worker in building up a strong farmers' and workers' party, and thru such a party secure control of the industries of the country. In this way alone can he oust the exploiters from power, and thus solve the problem for himself.

## The Farm Crisis

By HAROLD M. WARE.

(Following is the third installment of "Hal" Ware's article on the agricultural situation. It will run through several following issues.—ED.)

We find that the sons and daughters of the farmers, and those of their neighbors, make up the bulk of those listed as "farm laborers." Only a comparative few individuals are professional farm laborers. "Farm laborers" and the farmers constitute 28 per cent of the total number of people gainfully employed in the United States in all industries; yet this 28 per cent receive only 17 per cent of the national income. And we must remember this is gross income.

Reducing it to the average individual basis, the Anderson report gives the yearly labor income of the farmer as \$464.00, and states that measured in terms of the 1913 purchasing power it is worth only \$219.00 in 1921. This in spite of the fact that unpaid child and wife labor has been largely introduced on the farm. In other words, the \$464.00 is a farm income and not the individual farmer's income. All the unpaid labor of wife and children should be figured as receiving a part of it. But, of course, no Congressional Commission could be expected to do this.

To show the decline in average net labor income for all farmers, compare the following: Prof. F. D. Gardner, of the Pennsylvania State College of Agriculture, estimated that upon a basis of the 1910 census the income of the farmer in 1909 was \$318. The Anderson report, as above given for 1921 estimates \$219.00. And on the basis of the survey of the U. S. Department of Agriculture the Crop Reporter of April 28, 1923, gives net income for 1922 as less than \$100.00.

### Slavery of Farm Children.

The U. S. Department of Labor reports that 1,060,858 children between the ages of 10 and 15 years are gainfully employed. And sixty-one per cent of these are engaged in agriculture. But any one who has traveled through the agricultural districts of America has seen thousands of little tots below the age of ten, picking cotton under a hot Southern sun; picking cranberries with bleeding hands, in the bogs, and doing all sorts of other jobs on countless Eastern farms. These children are not exploited by their parents through ignorance or lack of affection. Sheer economic necessity forces this sacrifice of the farm children.

And it is only a question of time when these children will attempt to escape from drudgery by migrating to the cities. Reduced income and bankruptcy is forcing the farmers to follow their children. In 1922 over two million migrated from farm to city. And these were only partly replaced by a counter movement from urban centers. This, however, is looked upon by the capitalists and the government as inevitable and as the automatic solution of the farm problem.

For instance, Secretary Wallace called a conference in Washington in the spring of 1923, composed of professors, bankers, packers and statisticians. Of course, the Farm Bureau misleaders, and one or two "dirt" farmers to give it tone, were also there. After stating the obvious facts of European conditions, of increased production and increased buying power, the conference summed up with this cynical observation on migration as a "force in improving the condition of the farmer":

"Among such forces is the migration of the agricultural population to the city. There recently has been a distinct acceleration of this movement. This movement will in the long run add to the urban demand for food products and will eventually lessen the supply of farm produce, thus tending to establish a more normal relationship between agricultural and other prices."

Just analyze that observation. It means, in plain American, that when a sufficient number of skilled farmers are dispossessed and become cheap common labor in the cities—thus increasing the number of mouths to be fed and reducing the number of hands producing the food—then the prices will come back to the old "normalcy." Do you know what was this "normal relationship" that they speak of, before the war? Let Senator Ladd (Speaking to the Senate in 1921) describe it:

(Continued on page 7.)

## South Dakota Simmers

**SIOUX FALLS, S. D.**—(Special Correspondence.)—The regular democrats, headed by U. S. G. Cherry, W. W. Howes and L. N. Crill, are having a hard time of it keeping the Houlihan-Bates combination from kicking in the back door to the Democratic McAdoo Tea Pot. The Houlihan crowd wants to "fuse" with the democratic oil pot. Having made up their minds that they cannot carry the Farmer-Labor primaries, in which they filed their ticket after the state conventions of both parties had turned their backs upon them, these fusionists are demanding that the regular democrats fuse with them by withdrawing a portion of the regular democratic ticket and substituting a portion of the mongrel demo-farmer-labor ticket.

A hot argument has been going on in the press between Mr. Houlihan and Mr. Cherry. Houlihan accuses Cherry and Howes of preventing fusion. Cherry says he is in favor of fusion, but wants to do it his way, which is evidently not Mr. Houlihan's way. At no point in the state is there any sympathy with the minority fusion group in the Farmer-Labor Party. They are generally regarded as being a bunch of people who are after the offices and nothing else, ready to ally themselves with anybody who will guarantee them a job.

### Disillusioned by McAdoo.

Exposure of the fact that McAdoo was in the employ of the oil kings for the purpose of influencing the Wilson administration against the Mexican government and in favor of the oil interests, has completely disillusioned the people in this State who were following the McAdoo-Cherry-Howes crowd into the democratic oil room. It is now realized that the last hope of the democrats in this State has vanished. McAdoo was the only man in the democratic party who had any standing, and now he is as much out of the game as Henry Ford or any of the other used-to-be's.

This is a hard blow to the local democratic politicians who are attempting to win farmer-labor voters into the democratic party, through the back door. The effect of this set-back on the democrats will be seen more clearly as soon as the Farmer-Labor campaign gets under way. Next week will witness this event.

### A Drive for Control.

The democrats of Minnehaha county are making a drive to get control of the farmer-labor in the primaries. They are to

## The Farm Crisis

(Continued from Page 6)

age of pure was going down hill because of the war. Production per acre had fallen off; soil fertility was being depleted; farm earnings were declining; farm mortgage indebtedness was piling up; tenancy was increasing and rents becoming every year more burdensome.

### Living Standards Low.

At the same time that Wallace's smug conference was issuing its cynical finding, the Joint Commission of Agricultural Inquiry reported that the per capita consumption of wheat, which is the American workers' bread crop, dropped from 6.9 bushels in 1919 to 4.6 bushels in 1920-21. And this meant a decrease of 230 million bushels of wheat in our annual domestic consumption.

This process of lowered standards of living for the city workers directly affects the farmers' domestic market. Sydney Anderson admits that it "was due to bad industrial conditions of unemployment, and industrial depression." The futility of looking to government conferences for the solution of the farmers' problems is thus apparent. All they offer is the observation that only through the continued suffering and bankruptcy, and consequent emigration of the farm population to urban districts, will the remaining farmers profit. It is an eloquent admission of their mental bankruptcy, and a damning arraignment of the present system, to hold that a neighbors' financial failure should be welcomed, or that the falling standard of living of our city cousins should not be the signal for united resistance against the exploiting agencies of capital, be they bankers, professors, Farm Bureau leaders, or whatever else.

(Continued in next issue.)

put on a county drive, with this end in view. The majority farmer-labor crowd is fully aware of this, and will meet them with all their forces. Miss Alice Lorraine Daly begins a five-days tour of Minnehaha county next week, commencing at Sioux Falls with a big meeting on the night of the 18th. She will speak in the county five different times. Tom Ayres, candidate for United States senator, will speak at a later date, and his meetings will be closely followed by those staged for A. L. Putnam, "dirt-farmer" candidate for Governor on the Farmer-Labor majority ticket. The majority Farmer-Laborites are jubilant over this opportunity to stir up interest in the fight, and it is believed that when the battle is over the majority ticket will win handsomely and the last vestige of democratic party sentiment will be destroyed. In the meantime the Republicans will lose among the farmers and industrial workers, quite as heavily as will the Democrats.

## Situation in Kansas

**TOPEKA, KANS.**—(Special Correspondence.)—The political situation in Kansas appears to be one of waiting for something to turn up.

Kansas farmers are in as bad condition financially as any in the Northwest part of the country. The story that is being told about Oklahoma, North Dakota and South Dakota can be duplicated here. Mortgage foreclosures, increasing runs on the bankruptcy courts, poor prices for wheat, the staple crop, increasing tenancy-farming—all the woes from which the poor farmers are suffering elsewhere. Taxes are high and growing higher all the time. The illusion that the election of a dirt-farmer democrat would help them, has been exploded. They are ready for a final stand for something fundamental.

Kansas has always been a revolutionary state. It was here that the Populists made their greatest achievements. For years they fought the Santa Fe railroad and the money-lenders. They carried this fight with success until the leaders, having had a taste of office, and wanting to continue themselves on the pay roll, encouraged fusion with the democrats in 1896. That ended the Populist rebellion. The old fighters lost hope and quit. Since that time, Kansas seems to have lost much of its fighting spirit. But the conditions are now ripe for a revival of the old fight, on a more lasting basis.

Land for the users, and a moratorium on farm mortgage debts will be a popular slogan in Kansas. The landlords have their grip on Kansas. The State has a standing example of landlordism in the vast estates of the late Lord Scully, located in Southern Kansas. They have always had the example of the mortgage-shark, for that individual went with them when they homesteaded. He has ridden them, with a bur under the saddle, for fifty years. So it is about time for the farmers to begin to "buck" and to do it very energetically.

## Nebraska Next?

**OMAHA, Neb., Feb. 12, 1924.**—(Special to Farmer-Labor Voice.)—The Democrats are out to swallow up the Progressive Party organization here. A traitor in the ranks (Mayor Ellsberry, of Grand Island) has been "prevailed upon" to do the dirty work. He has filed a petition at Lincoln, placing on the Progressive Party primary ballot the name of Governor Charles Bryan, who got away with a similar game of double dealing in the election of 1922.

This move of the Democrats, however, may be a blessing in disguise for the progressive forces, who are preparing to attend, in fighting mood, the Grand Island convention on February 22nd. It is the determination to form there a tangible State organization, which will be a good nucleus for the coming Farmer-Labor Party of Nebraska. It is thought that practically all signers of the call for this convention can be depended upon in such an action, and the Grand Island convention should result in at least the beginning of a strong Farmer-Labor Party movement here.

The Democrats are also filing candidates on the third party ticket, in every Congressional district of Nebraska—with the effect that the progressives are up-in-arms against such tactics.

As National Secretary of the Federated Farmer-Labor Party, Joseph Manley expects to attend this convention, and Farmer-Labor Voice will carry a full report of its proceedings.

## Coming Primaries

**PIERRE, S. D.**—(Special Correspondence.)—The Farmer-Labor primaries in South Dakota may not amount to anything if the request for an opinion on the legality of the filing of the fusion tickets (farmer-labor and minority democratic), filed with the attorney general is answered in accordance with the expectations of the majority farmer-laborites. It is held that the filings of the fusionists in both party minority columns are in direct violation of the spirit of the primary law, and that since the primary law is a strict party law, providing for party government within the party, no fusion party, composed of alleged farmer laborites or alleged democrats, can be legally placed upon the ballot.

### Fake Fusionists.

The fusionists, composed of sorehead farmer labor candidates who were unable to get nominations in the farmer-labor convention, and of democrats, are understood to be the stool pigeons of the regular democratic machine. They are not farmer-labor men at all. Nearly all the candidates on the ticket are well known democrats. The exceptions are: Bates, who was a Democrat before he joined the Non-Partisan League, and Best, candidate for state treasurer, who was elected to the state legislature from Beadle County as a League-endorsed Republican in 1918. The opinion prevails that these candidates cannot occupy such a dual position, but must align themselves definitely with the farmer-labor party or with the democrats. The Farmer-Labor Party is a dues-paying organization, and none of the candidates of the minority fusion ticket are members of that party if the law is to be construed in accordance with its spirit. The fusionists are trying to be both farmer-laborites and democrats at the same time. This impossible situation is regarded as in direct violation of the law, and the attorney general will be asked to rule on it.

### Minority Getting Little Support.

The minority farmer-labor ticket, which is quite generally regarded as a satellite of the regular democratic machine, has no organization, and no support. Only five counties out of the forty-seven having representation in the farmer-labor state convention endorsed the minority ticket; and platform, the rest endorsing the majority. In some counties local agreements were made with the democrats, on county offices, but no effective or satisfactory fusion was made anywhere. These fusion agreements were made largely for the reason that the farmer-laborites did not have enough candidates for county offices to fill the tickets. The democrats, everywhere, sought the endorsement of the farmer-labor conventions for their county candidates. But these endorsements are tentative merely. And since the candidates agreed upon in such cases will run on two different tickets, it will not benefit either the farmer-labor or the democratic candidates at the fall elections. Such arrangements were entered into in but fifteen counties out of the forty-seven.

### The Ford Desertion.

The Ford desertion to Coolidge put a wet blanket on the hopes of fusionists. They had expected to get the support of all the Ford agencies in the State, for their ticket, in the belief that Ford would become a candidate. Those farmers who had been under the Ford illusion, are now generally grateful that Ford showed his true colors before any more serious damage had been done. The "Gwet" forces of the State, operating through an organization in St. Paul headed by Tom Sullivan, the famous criminal-lawyer of that city, had made arrangements to finance the Ford movement in South Dakota. Since Ford's timely desertion to Coolidge, Mr. Sullivan can see no reason why he should help Mr. Houlihan, the Watertown democratic politician, who is trying to get control of the farmer-labor party. Another desertion which has crippled the minority fusionists is the indifference of Mr. R. O. Richards, of Haron. Richards fully expected the Houlihan-Bates-Beck crowd to endorse in their platform his program. But they failed to do this. This leaves the fusionists without any financial support. The farmers are giving them nothing. Since they are attempting to ride the jack-ass and the goat at the same time, nobody can tell whether they are jack-ass or goat. Nor whether they are aiming to eat hay or tin cans. With the result that they are unable to crystallize any sentiment in their favor.

The fact that the national democratic convention was auctioned off to Wall Street in Washington the other day, has convinced progressive democrats that there is no more hope in the democratic party than there is in that of the republicans. And that the only means by which the farmers and workers can give expression to their protest, with any assurance of success, is through the farmer-labor majority party.

# Farmer-Labor Forum

The Farmer-Labor Voice solicits from its readers a free expression of their opinions upon all subjects of special interest to the farmers and industrial workers generally. Contributions to this Forum should usually be of not more than three hundred words. With these, post-names only will be published if requested. But name and address of writer must accompany each contribution. The Farmer-Labor Voice assumes no responsibility for the opinions expressed in this manner.—ED.)

Perham, Minn., Feb. 12, 1924.

Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice:

This is just a little personal letter to your newspaper, or to the Farmer-Labor Forum. My experience, detailed here, should certainly be of interest to farmers everywhere.

I have been in the progressive-farmer movement ever since there was any such thing. Have been a speaker and writer for the Grange, and the People's Party; and was expelled from the Socialist Party, for the "serious crime" of being the second man to join the Farmers' Non-Partisan League of Minnesota.

I have been a citizen of the United States since 1880; was the first white settler north of Lead River, Otter Tail County—and have farmed for 44 years. Through diligent hard work, I grubbed three timber farms and transferred them into fertile fields—a living monument of farmer industry. My farm now consists of 230 acres in a good state of cultivation, with \$8,000 insurance on buildings, stock and machinery. But today I am fighting foreclosure of mortgage. There is the single consolation, that as I have paid several thousand dollars of taxes, I may be considered entitled to a "first-table" seat in the Otter Tail County Poor-house. I am practically bankrupt, one of the best farms in the county.

Farmer-Labor Voice is full of illuminating facts. When we complete the formation of our Township Club—62 Townships in Otter Tail County—we shall want a newspaper that will fight this damnable system. And Farmer-Labor Voice looks good to me.

Fraternally,

SAM G. WALLACE.

Oklahoma City, Okla., Feb. 12, 1924.

To the Editor, Farmer-Labor Voice:

The Farmer-Labor Forum is a good place for the progressives in this movement to discuss all those important matters now at issue in the various sections of the country. And it seems to me that this column should be filled to overflowing, all the time, with such discussions—the way things are "popping" right now.

For instance, in this State of Oklahoma (where there is an oil-land scandal even bigger than that of the Teapot Dome field) there is now fermenting a school-land graft affair involving the theft of from fifty million to seventy-five million dollars of State funds. And the coat of whitewash which has been spread thickly over these robbers of the State's children, is so plainly apparent that nobody can even attempt to deny it.

Besides these two odorous political jobberies, other crooked deals of the sort are being uncovered right along, and the people of the State are becoming more and more disgusted with both of the old political parties. The time is surely ripe for third-party activity in the State of Oklahoma. And all other sections of the country are probably almost as rotten politically. Yet the faker labor leaders simply hang around and do nothing but wait for a possible "hand-out" from the back-door of the Democratic Party.

I will dig up the "dope" on this school-land graft deal, and give you a story on it for our newspaper. Might just mention, as a specimen of the illumination to be had, that one E. W. Marland came here as a pauper and is now a millionaire, through his handling of school-land leases. He was granted 106 sections of school land, for a total price of \$50! This information comes from George Wilson, deposed President of the Oklahoma State Agricultural College. And the State had to later reject an offer of \$50,000 for a single section of this land—because it had all been turned over to Marland and other school-land lease-grafters.

So it is certain that the Federated Farmer-Labor Party's slogan, "Land for Its Users," will fast grow in popularity here—just as it no doubt will in the other sections of the country. I do not feel sure that you are going to wait to vote by ballot. There is a live possibility that the Farmer-Labor vote for President will

# Oh, What Fun!



There was a man in our town  
And he was wondrous rash,  
He voted for a Democrat  
And thus lost half his cash;  
And when he saw what he had done,—  
As guileless as a calf,—  
He voted for a Republican  
And lost the other half.

## Farmers' and Workers' Dollar

Wage-workers are being paid for their labor and farmers are receiving for their produce a dollar that is worth but 60% cents, compared with 1914, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, an organization representing large employers. This depreciation of the dollar is revealed in a survey made by the experts of the Board.

The American people bought their winter clothing, fuel, light, shelter and other necessities and the gifts they gave for Christmas at prices which were the highest that have prevailed since May, 1921, the Conference Board reports.

Wholesale prices of agricultural products were about 4 3-10 per cent higher in October this year than in the same month of 1922, according to the Department of Labor. But the wholesale price of foods was 5 6-10 per cent, the price of cloths and clothing, 5 8-10 per cent, and of house furnishings 4 per cent higher than in October, 1922. In other words, if the farmer was getting a trifle more for what he produced he was at the same time paying much more for what he had to buy from others.

## Farmer Sells Cheap—Buys Dearly

Comparison of prices on November 1, 1923, with those on the same date in 1922, reveals that while the farmer was getting an average of 8 or 10 cents a bushel less for his wheat this year than last, breadstuffs were 8 1/2 per cent higher than twelve months previously. The price which the farmer received for wheat this season was considerably below the cost of production.

These facts illustrate the way in which agricultural products grow in price to the consumers after they have left the producer's hands.

Potatoes furnish another instance of the same sort. In 1922 the farmer got an average of about 60 cents a bushel for his potatoes, but the consumer paid from \$1.75 to \$2.50 a bushel for them.

## Convention Call

LABOR PARTY OF RHODE ISLAND  
Box 206, Olneyville, R. I.  
(Affiliated With Federated Farmer-Labor Party of U. S.)

Dear Sir and Brother:

Election time is nearing. Campaign programs of the opposing parties are on in full swing. We must work ours with equal vigor. We must gather the forces which will enable us to present a solid United Front at the polls on election day. Nominations for candidates must be made. Inauguration of plans for an aggressive, well-organized campaign must begin. If you consider the growth of our Party to be of any consequence, you will surely attend this Convention.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 24TH

At 8 O'clock Prompt.

Hall: 98 Weybosset Street.

Do Not Fail to Attend.

W. J. SMITH, Chairman.  
H. A. SIEGL, Asst. Sec.

## WANTED—

Local correspondents in all sections of the country, who will send in news items with reference to the farmer-labor movement in their immediate vicinity, or special articles of general interest to the farmers and industrial workers everywhere. In order to increase the scope and value of our newspaper, we have been reiterating this call to the readers of Farmer-Labor Voice. And the response to our S. O. S. has been very encouraging, thus far—as may be readily noted by an inspection of these columns. It is the desire of Farmer-Labor Voice to speak directly from the hearts of the farmers and industrial workers, in their own language, and from their own point of view. If you have not yet contributed to these columns, do not longer refrain. And if you have—then come again!

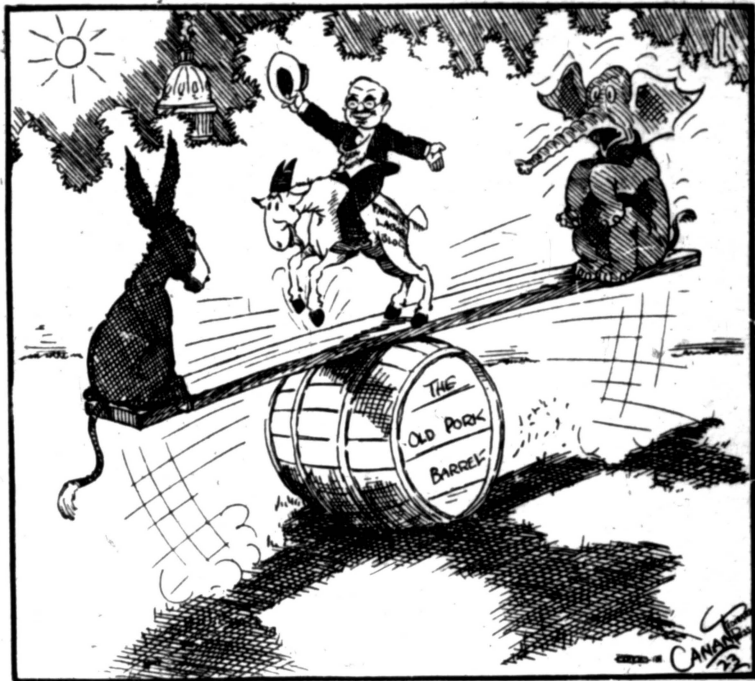
## THE TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

Anna Louise Strong, noted author and poetess, will lecture on the above subject Saturday evening, March 1st, in the Russian Technical School, 1902 W. Division St., at 7:30 o'clock.

Miss Strong has just returned from Soviet Russia, where she has been engaged as staff correspondent for the Federated Press.



# Oh, What Fun!



There was a man in our town